3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

161 previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 200,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martín Collió Huaiquillaf) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collió as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method 162 of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a (19) full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a 175 pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have ever been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish renegades, and Chilean outlaws, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bio-Bio as early as the 16th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indian" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 200,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

101 These Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bio-Bio and 161 the Gulf of Guafo. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some 175 Araucanian groups, probably Pehuenche and Huilliche, sent bands [73] eastward whose descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Pampas Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Mendoza, Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Picunche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist except as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of rotos (laborers, etc.) and inquilinos (peon tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[2] and mixture with yanaconas and mitimaes brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given as encomiendas to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num-

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[2] [illegible], in the latter part of the 16th century, reported Quechua still spoken as far south as Coquimbo.

tween these two rivers, and especially between the Bío-Bío and the Imperial Rivers. 175 648

During the first half of the period, especially during the 16th century, Spanish cultural influences upon the *Araucanians* operated along many lines. The encomienda system, first introduced in Valdivia's time, and then and thereafter carried out on a large scale, brought great numbers of *Araucanians* as workers to Spanish farms, ranches, mines, and homes in Chile, for longer or shorter periods. A 175
great many of the Spanish soldiers and settlers married *Araucanian*
women. Many of the Mestizo offspring of such marriages, reared in 648
White surroundings, on coming of age joined the *Araucanian* fighting 144
forces. Many runaways—Spanish, Mestizo, Negro, and mulatto—sought refuge among the *Araucanians*. Captive *Araucanians*, who after a while among their captors were in considerable number freed on various occasions, returned to their people. Many Spaniards—men, women, and children—taken captive in wars and raids remained by force or by choice among their *Araucanian* captors. Many *Araucanians*, taken into the Spanish fighting ranks and trained therein, deserted to their countrymen. Through martial encounter, the 175
Araucanians learned much of European military tactics, offensive and
defensive weapons, and horsemanship, and used their new knowledge 648
and new weapons with deadly effect.

Other White influences on the *Araucanians* came through the mis- 175
sionaries, some of whom accompanied Almagro and Valdivia. Most
of the earlier missionary work among the main body of the *Araucanians* 648
from the Bío-Bío River to the Canal of Chacao was done by the 797
Jesuits, from 1593 to their expulsion in 1767–68, and by the Franciscans, especially after the middle of the 18th century to the middle of the 19th. Since 1848, the Capuchins have taken over much of the task. Since the 1890's, Protestant missionaries of several denominations, mostly from England and North America, have been active. The Salesians of Don Bosco have worked since 1879 among the Argentine *Araucanians*.

In spite of all these influences, secular and religious, *Araucanian* 175
culture in the central zone, from the Bío-Bío River to the Río Imperial
and even to the Gulf of Reloncaví, remained fairly intact until well 648
toward the end of the 19th century, and much remains even today. The native culture north of the Bío-Bío and the Maule Rivers and on the Island of Chiloé early suffered more profound disintegration and survives only fragmentarily among the Mestizo population of these zones.

In sketching the history of the main body of the *Araucanians*, we have purposely omitted mention of the *Araucanian* diaspora across the Andean Cordillera to the Argentine Pampa. This migration may

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Argentinian Araucanians

EXPANSION OF THE ARAUCANIANS IN ARGENTINA

By Salvador Canals Frau

The campaign of General Roca in the year 1879 against tribes of the south put an end to the Indian domination of the entire realm of the Pampa. Several tribes which up to that time had ruled the greater part of the Pampa húmeda, or the eastern section, and the Región del Monte, or the western section, were dispersed or driven beyond the Río Negro, the northern boundary of Patagonia. The central plain of Argentina subsequently was definitely and completely opened to civilization. Thus ended uncertainty and open warfare that had begun the very moment that the Spaniards established themselves on the right bank of the Río de la Plata. The original Buenos Aires was founded in 1536 by the first Governor of the Río de la Plata, Don Pedro de Mendoza, but had to be abandoned later. In 1580, General Juan de Garay founded the present city. In both instances there were open conflicts with the Indians who ruled the plains. 167

The Indians who occupied the region of the Pampa in the 16th century, and who had contacts first with Don Pedro de Mendoza and later with Don Juan de Garay, were ethnically different from those whom General Roca drove out during the second half of the 19th century. Culturally, they might have seemed alike, but racially and linguistically they were distinct. From time to time, during the three centuries between 1580 and 1879, the Indian population of the vast geographical area known as the Pampa underwent a notable change. The primitive population of the plains in 1580 was Pampean in racial type and was, therefore, racially and culturally similar to the other peoples of Patagonia. It was particularly like its southern neighbors the *Puelche* (Guénaken) and the Patagonians, and its northern neighbors, the Querandí. The population which General Roca drove out in 1879, however, resembled in outward appearance the *Araucanians* of Chile, whose language they also spoke (map 1, *No. 19*). The *Araucanians* are usually classified racially and culturally with the peoples of the Andes, who have the highest culture in South America. 101 144 ●

One might ask how this change in population came about and what were the causes. Fortunately, we have a series of historical facts which enable us to follow, almost step by step, the interesting process by which a people move almost 620 miles (1,000 km.) from their orig- 167

6:Canals Frau E-4 (no date)1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

167 ral home and gradually invade an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

131 197 The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling originally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the *Atacama*. Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in 1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

101 197 144 East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples, who were related to one another and belonged to the same linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the people of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the southernmost of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Pehuenche* (in *Araucanian*, pehuen, "pine," + che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and infiltrations.

101 144 Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*, did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Mariño de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1553 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the Araucaria pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolichocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient burial grounds in the same area.

101 197 144 This earlier tall, thin, dolichocephalic people, who neither spoke *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coincides approximately with that of the Araucaria pine, i. e., the Cordil-

6 Canals Frau E-4 [no date] 1946 SO4 Araucanians SO4
Argentinian Araucanians

lay between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized.* 161
This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, 177
as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* 186 who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian,* but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanians.* This elemental process of *Araucanization* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1846), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera 177 and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the conquistadors. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important in warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified. The *Pampa,* or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians,* or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche,* who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The Andes in the region of the *Araucaria* pine, domain of the *Pehuenche,* [133] are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the transmontanes free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* influences first to the *Pehuenche.* Once this people was *Araucanized,* the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the new *Araucanized Pehuenche* was to the 167 north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche de Cuyo,* the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

1-Canals Frau E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentine Araucanians

186 *Araucanians*, the results should everywhere be identical or similar. Considering the *Araucanian's* manner of living, the century and a half of their occupation of the territory east of the Andes was not sufficient time for them to become differentiated. The different groups of eastern *Araucanians* remained very similar to one another in their physical appearance as well as in their culture and language.

141 144 We lack exact anthropometric data on the Argentine *Araucanian* stature, but according to different historical sources they were of a "medium" stature, that is, an average height of 5.4 to 5.6 feet (1.65 to 1.70 m.). This is understandable because they were the result of the mixture of the short *Araucanians* of Chile with the taller *Patagonian* and the other *Pampa* tribes.

According to craniological measurements published by Ten Kate ([illegible]), the majority ([illegible] percent) of the *Araucanians* from the plains are brachycephalic like those of Chile, and [illegible] percent are dolichocephalic like the old *Pampa*. This is as would be expected.

177 Their culture was also of mixed origin. Features of *Pampa* origin included their lack of cultivation of the soil, use of the classic skin toldo; the bolas (boleadoras) as the principal weapon, together with the spear; their diet of half-raw mare meat and hot blood; and their mythology and the name of their spirit of evil, Gualichu. From Chile came men's and women's garments, ornaments, weaving, silverwork, wooden plates, spears up to 10 feet (3 m.) long, part of their social organization, and some funeral practices.

197 Finally, their language differed from that of Chile in certain peculiarities, such as their tendency to change the *r* into *s* and the *l* into *sh*.

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Cabrera, [illegible]; Canals Frau, [illegible], [illegible] a, [illegible] b, [illegible] c, [illegible]; [illegible]; [illegible]; [illegible]; [illegible]; Ten Kate, [illegible]; [illegible]; Vignati, [illegible].

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[illegible] As incomplete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico-military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of [illegible] caciques. 631 701

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a more difficult speculation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[illegible] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiment were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the [illegible] of their own [illegible]. 769 787

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Araucanians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were innumerable Pillán hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñán depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butalmapus. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of Araucania and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[illegible] The three knives symbolized Araucania, and the sucking of blood was a 771 177 787 [3(b)]

[illegible] Gerónimo Pietas, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos" (Gay, II, pp. [illegible]).

[illegible] [illegible], p. [illegible]; Núñez, p. [illegible]; also see Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. [illegible]. Cooper (pp. [illegible]) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

[illegible] Bascuñán, pp. [illegible]. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of Álvaro Núñez de Pineda, maestre de campo general, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñán and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those rare lucky affairs, almost too romantic and dramatic to be real. He was befriended by Maulican, a powerful chieftain 864

10: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957

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[6.1] Statistics give numbers varying from 50,000 to 130,000. A census taken by the Capuchin Fathers in the area of their activities, the Apostolic Vicariate of the Araucania, that is, between the river Cautin on the north, the rivers Enco, [illegible], and Bueno on the south, the Pacific on the west, and Argentina on the east, gives [illegible] as the number of Araucanians in that area. (See under Anonymous, Estado de la Iglesia en Chile, 1946, p. 85.)

[8] ● [74] Araucanian informants in Chile spoke of themselves and their people as "pure Mapuche"; of mixed-bloods as mestizos (epu moll'fün che, double-blooded people), and of nonmixed Chileans of Spanish origin as "Chilenos blancos." In all probability some "pure Mapuche" have European blood of earlier days. "My two oldest children, the sons of my first husband, have red hair; he had red hair, also. Most certainly, we are full-blooded Mapuche!" The literature records Spanish armies and Spanish prisoners of war, both men and women, as having left traces among them. Also, in Alepúe area, it has been handed down as unwritten history that about fifty years ago two Dutch merchant vessels were wrecked off the coast at Chan Chan. Informants pointed out the place. Those of the crew who survived were rescued by Araucanians, and "since there was no place else for them to go, they lived here, and we allowed them to marry our women." Old persons in Alepúe area told that when they were children this incident was related by old people. Quite evidently these early mixed-bloods are considered pure Araucanians today; only offspring of recent marriages between Araucanians and other persons are called mestizos.

[12] Among those recognized by the Chilean Araucanians themselves as pure Mapuche there appear to be two physical types: one with a small, flat nose and round, flat face; another with a high-ridged nose, long face, and high cheek bones.[2] Both have circular nostrils. A rather common characteristic is a low hairline over the forehead, with hair at the temples often reaching the eyebrows.

[10] According to Cooper's sources, the Araucanians of Chile can be grouped justifiably on historical, cultural, and linguistic evidence into the Pehuenche or Pewenche of the Andean highlands (People of the Pines), the Picunche (People of the North), the Mapuche (People of the Land), and the Huilliche (People of the South) west of the Andes. My Araucanian informants stated that all the above are Mapuche and are so called unless the speaker wants to refer to people

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[2] [illegible] ([illegible]) reports that those with round, flat faces and flat noses live on the Pacific coast and to the south; those with more protruding noses and less flat faces, to the east, that is, in the Andean regions. Both types were found in all areas covered in the present study.